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THE ISSUES
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—AN—

OPEN LETTER

—TO—

Van B. Sparrow,
Patterson Township,
Durham County,

FROM

J. S. CARR,
Chairman,
Durham County Democratic Ex-
ecutive Committee.

DURHAM, N. C., October 24th., 1898.

MR. VAN B. SPARROW, Pickett's Mill, Patterson Township, Durham County,

My Dear Sir:—

If I did not believe you an honest, fair minded man, open to conviction and a seeker after truth, I would not trouble to write you this letter. I have been pained, my dear friend, to hear that you and your son, James, both make the declaration, that "there are no negroes in office in North Carolina, excepting such negroes as were either appointed to office by Democrats, or recommended to office by Democrats."

Now, my dear sir, this statement is so far from correct that it shocks me to think you could believe it, much less be circulating the report.

I shall not attempt to mislead you in the slightest particular in this matter, but will state the truth as it is. When the Democratic party went out of power it was rare that a negro office-holder could be found in the State; and when one was found, it was in a position and under circumstances which did not make him obnoxious to the white people, and which did not create within him a desire to rule over and dominate the white man.

In the four years of Republican fusion legislation, and in the year and a half of Republican-Populist fusion administration, wonderful strides have been made in conferring office upon the negro, and in setting him up to rule over white men.

To show the progress being made in establishing the negro as a ruler in various and sundry positions in the State, I give a partial list of the offices held by him, se-

lected from a few counties of the State as a sample, by way of illustration.

In Columbus county there are 17 negro school committeemen, 5 negro magistrates, and 2 negro postmasters.

In Hertford there are 6 negro magistrates, 1 constable, 10 negro school committeemen, 2 negro postmasters and 1 negro on the board of education.

In Perquimans there are 6 negro magistrates, 10 school committeemen, 1 member board of education, 1 county commissioner and 1 town constable.

In Jones there are 3 negro magistrates, 12 negro school committeemen, in five townships there being two negroes on each committee.

In Caswell there are 7 negro magistrates, 1 negro school committeeman in each township, 1 negro deputy sheriff.

In Wayne there are 6 negro magistrates, 2 negro postmasters, 3 negro aldermen, 1 clerk in Goldsboro postoffice.

In Nash there are 3 negro magistrates 11 negro school committeemen.

In Edgecombe there are negro postmasters in the towns of Rocky Mount, Battleboro and Lawrence; there are 35 negro magistrates and 8 negro constables, besides a large number of negro school committeemen.

In Richmond there are 10 negro magistrates, 23 negro school committeemen, two negroes being on every school committee (except one where there is a vacancy), 1 negro on the board of education, 1 deputy sheriff and 3 negro road overseers.

There are 40 or more negro postmasters in Eastern North Carolina, not one of whom was appointed or recommended by a Democrat.

In the city of Wilmington the majority of

the offices are filled by negroes, also in the city of New Bern, and in the towns of Greenville and Kinston, the policemen, deputy sheriffs, constables, and all such positions are largely filled by negroes, not one of whom was appointed or recommended by a Democrat.

This progress has been made under Republican administration of affairs, with the aid of the Populists; and it is safe to conclude that if the Republican party is continued in power, this progress of the negro as an office-holder will continue to go on. What then are the results likely to be, when Gov. Russell himself is on record as saying, "THE NEGROES GENERALLY GO WITH THE RASCALS." Touching the real condition of affairs in Wilmington, I invite your attention to a letter written during the past week, by Mr. W. H. Chadbourn, the Republican postmaster at Wilmington, a close personal friend and associate of Gov. Russell.

(Extract from Mr. Chadbourn's letter.)

"As a matter of fact, there are in this county 36 negro magistrates and a colored register of deeds, and various minor officials besides some presidential appointees, and the property owners, taxpayers and business men seriously object to this state of affairs, and there now exists here the most intense feeling against any sort of negro domination.

There is a greater feeling of unrest and uncertainty about the maintenance of order than I have ever seen and many, even the most conservative, feel that a race conflict is imminent, than which nothing could be more disastrous, not only to this city and county, but to our party in the State, and

rather than have riot, arson and bloodshed here, I, Republican though I am, advise the giving up of the local offices in this county, as there are no national political principles involved in this conflict.

I had thought at first that it was merely the usual political cry and the fight for the offices, but I am now convinced that the feeling is much deeper than this, as it pervades the whole community, and there seems to be a settled determination on the part of the property owners, business men and taxpayers that they will administer city and county government."

What is the State of affairs in Newbern? Permit me to call your attention to the following:

Mr. L. E. Green, near Ellenboro, wanted to know the truth about negro rule in Craven county, and wrote to the clerk of the court for the facts in the matter. Below we give the answer of the clerk to his letter of inquiry, and if you are an honest jurymen you will decide the case for yourself and act accordingly:

Superior Court, Craven county, N. C., }
W. M. Watson, Clerk, }
NEWBERN, N. C., Sept, 28, 1898.

L. E. GREEN, Ellenboro. N. C.:

My Dear Sir: Yours to hand, and I will endeavor to give you the facts.

In Craven county there are 27 negro magistrates, 12 or 15 negro school committeemen. The register of deeds and his deputies are negroes. All the sheriff's deputies are negroes. The court crier is a negro. The township constable is a negro. One of the county commissioners is a negro. The town has three negro councilmen and five negro policemen, and the city attorney is a negro. White men and white women are arrested by negro sheriffs

or constables, tried before negro magistrates and committed to the custody of a negro jailor.

The nominees for county offices are as follows: House of Representatives, negro; register of deeds, negro; county treasurer, negro; county commissioner, negro; constable, negro. The candidates for clerk and sheriff, who are the only whites, were made to promise that they would have none but negroes as their deputies. Could any white people be in a worse condition than we are?

We appeal to the Anglo-Saxon race of North Carolina, with whatever political party they may have been voting, to rescue us from this terrible condition. You have no idea of the complete reign of terror that exists in the eastern counties. The papers have not told half. I forgot to state that the tax-listers in some of the townships are negroes.

Very respectfully,

W. M. WATSON,

Clerk of Superior Court.

Craven but illustrates the present or threatened condition of all Eastern North Carolina.

Can honest white men contemplate such a condition, and having the remedy in their own hands, a remedy which will protect all without injury to any, refuse to apply it?

My dear sir, it is bad enough, God knows, for these white brethren of ours in the east to have to live under negro domination and suffer their jeers, taunts and insults; then don't let us add to their abasement by charging it around and telling our neighbors that this condition of affairs has been brought about by their own procurement. Negro domination with all its horrors is bad enough—for heaven's sake don't add to the humiliation of our white brethren

by misrepresenting them.

More than this, my dear friend, do you know what George White, the negro Congressman from North Carolina, said at the State Republican convention held in Raleigh about a month ago? And, by the way, who is responsible for the negro, George White, being in Congress? Certainly not the Democrats, for that good, true and tried Democrat, Hon. Fred A. Woodward, a Christian gentleman of the finest type, of Wilson, N. C., ran against him and did all in his power to defeat him, but the Republicans, white and colored men, elected the negro, George White. George White, the negro, is running for Congress again this year, against Mr. Charles R. Thomas, a white man, a graduate of Chapel Hill, whom you likely know, and as fine a man as there is in the State, and what do you find? Why, not only the Republicans, black and white, supporting the negro White, but some white men masquerading as Populists, but really at heart Republicans, supporting White, the negro, against the white man, Thomas. My dear friend, any white man who supports a negro for office against a white man is a Republican, or worse, although he may declare he is a Populist until he is as black in the face as the negro he votes for. Now, if negroes and white men with black principles elect the negro George White to Congress, please don't norate it among your friends that the Democrats endorsed and elected him.

But to come back to what the negro George White said at the Republican State convention. In his speech before that convention he said, "THERE ARE NOT AS MANY NEGROES IN OFFICE AS THERE ARE GOING TO BE." There

was no speech delivered before the Republican State Convention that provoked the applause that White's speech did. He was the lion of the occasion. The white man was "not in it." The negro dominated the convention. Now, who will put more negroes in office? Certainly not the Democrats. Did you hear of any negroes addressing the State Democratic convention? I had the honor of being named the temporary chairman of the State Democratic convention, and presided for awhile over the convention. If you are prepared to take my word for it, there were no speeches delivered before the State Democratic convention, except by white men. Then how are more negroes to get into office, as George White declares? Have you seen any of the tickets nominated in the Eastern counties for the Legislature, clerk of the court, register of deeds, etc.? Not one Democratic ticket has a negro nominated for any position—not one. While on the other hand, the Republican tickets have negroes on them for every place from Congressman down; then, my dear friend, don't it seem that it would be fair and honest for you to recant and say that you have been misled, that the Democrats are in no wise responsible for the negroes being in office in North Carolina. And, may I tell you that in North Carolina, is the only place in the whole world, that there are more white folks than negroes, and yet the negro dominates our politics; and you are fair enough to admit without argument that in no State administration is there the scandals and abuse that you hear about North Carolina. All the States South of us are holding up North Carolina as a horrible example of the curse of negro rule. I can truthfully

tell you that men with money from the North, have been prevented from locating in our midst, with their money, because they were unwilling to risk the situation as it exists today in North Carolina.

Not only are Republicans naming negroes on their tickets in Eastern counties, but the character of some of these negroes is not such as to commend them to white men. For instance, Lee Person, the negro Republican candidate for the Senate from Wilson, says: "THE TIME HAD COME WHEN THE POOR WHITE MAN AND THE NEGRO WERE EQUAL, AND THE TIME WOULD COME WHEN THE WHITE MAN WOULD INVITE THE NEGRO TO EAT AND SLEEP WITH HIM."

The negro Lee Person said this in a political speaking at Lucanna, Wilson county, Friday, October 7th. He advised the negroes to register and go to the polls with pistols and rocks in their pockets. He advised all negroes to stop working for the whites, and said as long as negroes brushed up stores and waited on the whites, that the whites would think themselves above them, etc. This is only a sample of the three hour's speech made by this negro bully, a candidate for the Senate from the good old county of Wilson. Now, my dear friend, don't charge the Democrats with the responsibility of Lee Person's bad conduct, for it is bad enough for the Democrats to have to endure his insolence, not to be charged with his vicious bad conduct.

Let me tell you something, which perhaps you have not heard. The Second Judicial District is composed of the counties of Craven, Bertie, Halifax, Warren, Northampton and Edgecombe, known as negro counties—that is to say, the negro

predominates in these counties—the Judicial Convention, for the purpose of nominating a candidate for Judge assembled in Tarboro, about ten days ago; there was not a white delegate in the whole convention, not one. A negro convention to nominate a judge to try your causes and mine, a judge perhaps to sit upon the lives of your friends and neighbors and my friends and neighbors. Great God, is the Anglo-Saxon race of North Carolina prepared for such a thing? Nowhere else but in North Carolina could such a thing be possible. But shame to say, here in the land where Vance was born, reared and died; here in North Carolina where the first Declaration of Independence was written, declaring that we were freemen, and were not to be dominated by British tyranny, and our fore-fathers sealed this declaration with their blood; here, oh, I blush to own it, we find men with white skins apologizing for negro rule.

You are prepared to say I am an enemy to the negro; but in this you are mistaken. I am the negro's friend, in the negro's place. I claim that "there is a line by us unseen, that crosses every path," and the negro must not, no shall not, if I can prevent it, cross that path. I am the negro's friend in his place, and I have proven that. I have stood by his sick bedside; I have followed his body stiff in death to its last resting place; I have fostered and encouraged their industrial enterprises; I have aided them in building their churches and school houses; I have assisted 100, I suppose, in buying little homes; I have given them houses rent free for years; I have paid their grocery bills, their coal and wood bills more than 100 times. Beside paying heavy

taxes, one-half of which goes to educate the children of negroes. I have given time and again money to buy their book, and I have sent negro children to school and paid their board and tuition out of my own pocket. The truth is, I have done so much to elevate the negro, and in trying to help him to help himself, that I have oftentimes been criticised for it, and only this week some Republican-Populists have been criticising me very severely for doing so much for the negroes. So, I repeat, I am a friend of the negro in his place, but mind you, HE MUST BE IN HIS PLACE. I am very far from being like the Durham Republican-Populist, who criticises "Jule Carr," for befriending the negro, and then march up and vote the negro ticket. I am for my color first, last, and all the time, and it is best for the negro that I should be so, because it is an admitted fact, that the negro is not capable or competent for self-government. I have never imposed upon the negro, nor permitted it to be done when in my power to prevent it. The negro understands that in his place, he always finds in me a friend, and hundreds of them bring their troubles to me for advice, except about election times; then, they never consult nor advise with me. Yet they understand very thoroughly, that while I am at all times ready to befriend and do often aid them in their troubles that it is always as a white man and a negro. And while I enjoy their respect and confidence not one of them for his right arm would presume to forget a negro's place in my presence.

I have perhaps consumed too much of your time "crying negro," as the opposition is pleased to term the position of the Democratic party touching the ques-

tion of white supremacy, and yet I can offer no apology, because the situation as I see it, plainly indicates that the negro question is the burning question of the hour, and means more to you and to me, and to ours, than all the other questions combined. As much as I have said concerning the negro question I have scarcely entered into it, for the reason that there is so much to be said in opposition to negro domination. I have omitted to say anything of the insolence and intolerance that the negro is guilty of, and the alarming growth of this disposition in the section of the State dominated by negroes. I have omitted to tell you that chambers of commerce composed of Republicans and Democrats in some of our negro ridden cities, have passed strong resolutions, calling upon their white brethren in other parts of the State, to come to their aid and relief. I have omitted to tell you that in some portions of North Carolina, notably Wilmington, the negroes are arming, and the lives and property of many of the best white people are in peril. I have omitted to direct your attention to the increased number of occurrences in North Carolina, where the black brute lays his lustful hands, upon some pure, innocent white girl, and debauches her and thereby blights her young life, and breaks the hearts of doting parents. My dear friend, my heart sickens as I contemplate the situation, and, as a white man, I call upon you in the name of the white men and women of North Carolina to give the strength of your ballot on the 8th day of November to the support of the white man's ticket and the white man's party. Yes, more, I beg you to use your influence in the meanwhile among your neighbors

and friends for the success of the white man's party, for you have my word for it, we stand face to face with a serious crisis in North Carolina, and that crisis will decide whether the negro or white man will dominate North Carolina.

What can it mean when Mr. F. W. McClement, a life-long Republican, of the State of New York, now manager of the Railway and Electric Power Company, at Winston, N. C., representing \$150,000.00, declines to further affiliate with and vote the Republican fusion ticket? In the News and Observer of yesterday, Mr. McClement announces that he cannot and will not vote the Republican Fusion ticket, because it means negro domination. My dear friend, is it a possible thing, that Mr. McClement, a Northern man by birth, and if I mistake not an ex-Union soldier, and a Republican from principle, thinks more of the white people of the South than some of us think of ourselves? He says he cannot conscientiously vote for fusion this year, representing as it does, negro domination. As a good citizen he owes it to the community, he thinks, to vote with the Democrats for the restoration of decent and honest government.

But you argue that there are other issues besides the "nigger" involved in this campaign. That is very true, and with your indulgence I will consider some of these hurriedly. For instance, there is the last Legislature; I will not ask you to believe any Democratic testimony touching the last Legislature, but will quote only what Senator Butler's papers, the Caucasian and the Progressive Farmer said touching the last Legislature. These with you, I take it are authority.

"Up to this date the Legislature is a

damnable disgrace to the State." Caucasian.
Feb. 27th, 1897.

"The good done by the Legislature could be printed in a small pamphlet. The bad done and the good omitted would fill several large volumes." Progressive Farmer.

"There is some talk of an extra session of the Legislature. Please don't Gov. Russell. We can endure famine, pestilence, drouth, war; but don't inflict any prolonged agony on the State, such as an extra session." Progressive Farmer, March 2, 1897.

"As to the Legislature of 1897, the one now in session, we have to say as a fact that it has won the contempt of the people generally of all parties, and we have to say as an opinion, that we do not believe that it can overcome that contempt in two years' time, and hence cannot get the approval of the people."—Caucasian.

"The Legislature has now only about ten days to complete its work, and it hasn't begun the work yet. Let the miserable pie-hunters go to work or go home."—Progressive Farmer, Feb. 23rd, 1897.

"Swepson is not the only boss our North Carolina Legislature ever had. To a man up a tree it appears that the Pops nominated some extremely sorry timber for the Legislature last year."—Progressive Farmer, January 26th, 1897.

Nor is this all touching the Legislature—the cry of the great reform party was re-trenchment of expenses. Now let's see how they kept their promise to the people:

The Democratic Legislature of	
1891 cost.....	\$63,018.01
The Democratic Legislature of	
1893 cost	65,976.78

These were the two last Democratic Legislatures and they

cost	\$128,994.79
The Rep-Pop Legislature of 1895 cost	\$72,266.74
The Rep-Pop Legislature of 1897 cost	70,760.75

The two Rep-Pop Legislatures cost	\$143,027.49
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So the two Rep-Pop Legislatures cost the taxpayers \$14,032.70 more than the two preceding Democratic Legislatures. This, candor will compel you to admit, was pretty costly reform.

Nor is this all, my dear friend, for I want to convince you that there is something beside the "nigger" in this matter.

Let us compare the cost of the State government for the year 1891 and 1893 when Democratic Legislatures made the appropriations, with the costs for the years 1895 and 1897, when Rep-Pop Legislatures made the appropriations:

1891 Cost of State govern- ment.....	\$1,179,794.88
1893 Cost of State govern- ment.....	1,319,648.10
Cost for 1891 and 1893 (Dem- ocratic years.....	\$2,499,444.95
1895 Cost of State govern- ment.....	\$1,349,335.65
1897 Cost of State govern- ment.....	1,364,048.29

Cost for 1895 and 1897 (Re- publican years).....	\$2,713,383.94
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The two Republican years, cost the taxpayers \$213,938.96 more than the two Democratic years; this is another exhibition of Retrenchment and Reform, that does not show up very creditably for a party that

rode into power on the cry of "Retrenchment and Reform."

Surely, with Madam Roland, we may exclaim, "Oh, liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name."

These are only two instances and I quote them here to show you the inconsistency and insincerity of "our friends, the enemy." There are scores and scores of other instances, that show up equally as bad if not worse. Nor is this all. For the credit of North Carolina I wish it was. But see—

A Contrast. Figures do not lie.

The Republican party left the State a debt of \$42,000,000 up to 1870 when the Democrats got control of the Legislature, whereas when the Democrats went out of power in 1894. they left a debt of only \$3,615,720.

In 1870 twenty-seven counties were hopelessly under negro rule and overwhelmed with debt, and unable to pay their county script. In 1894 when the Democratic rule ended, the last one of these counties had good government and were solvent and able to pay all their obligations dollar for dollar.

In 1870 the Republicans had collected \$370,560 for school purposes, spent only \$38,981, presumably for schools and squandered the balance, Not one school house was built, and not one child was educated. Up to 1894, the Democrats collected and spent \$815,000 for school purposes, and established a good common school system and enlightened thousands of the children of the State. In 1870 under the Republican party we had a University with a paid faculty, and not one student. The doors had been opened to whites and negroes alike, with the result that no student entered the University. Under Democratic rule in 1894 the University had a paid faculty, and over

500 students. In 1870 there was no provision for the education of our women, but in 1894 there was a State Normal School with 400 students, and there was established the Agricultural & Mechanical College for whites. When in power the Democrats provided also common schools for the colored race and provided higher education in the College of Agricultural & Mechanical arts for the colored people. So much for education.

In 1870 under the Republicans, we had but one asylum for the unfortunate insane. During the Democratic administration, the asylum at Raleigh was enlarged and improved, the asylum at Morganton was built for the whites, and one at Goldsboro for the negroes.

In the campaign of 1894 the momentous question of the future of North Carolina was involved—whether the State should be turned over to the party that had debauched and disgraced it, or be kept in the hands of the party that had governed it wisely and well. Near fifty thousand voters had cast their ballots for the Populist Party in 1892, so that party held the balance of power between the two old parties and could therefore determine the result of the election. It had the record of these two parties before it, and, strange to say, the leaders of this party of reform, deliberately planned and traded and bargained with the Republican party in consideration of certain offices for themselves to turn the State over to the Republican party disgraced, as it is, with its dark and damnable record; and then, in 1896, for like consideration, the same disgraceful trade was confirmed by this party of reform. One other matter and then I am done.

The basis principle of the Populist party, is the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, this principle was the foundation stone of your party's organization. Your party for Free Silver, abandoned the Sub-Treasury idea, but if the Populist fuse with the Republicans the party of the Gold Standard, the party that fosters and encourages trusts and combines, what becomes of the Free Silver plank, the chief plank of the Populist platform. Therefore can any honest Populist sanction fusion from any point of view, without making a great sacrifice of his honor.

If the Gold Bugs and Monopolists get control of the next Congress, they will most likely follow up the demonetization of silver, by making it redeemable in gold. Then, if the Democratic party's platform is so similar to the platform of the Populist party, that the Democrats have been openly charged with stealing the platform of the Populist party, why don't the honest Populist, the Populist who is one from principle and not for "pie" support the Democrats in this contest, rather than be lured away from the "bed rock" of their faith and principles by the siren song of fusion. The Populist who claims that he is desirous of helping the cause of Free Silver, and fuses with the Gold Bug Gold Standard, Trust ridden Republican party, is simply "stealing the livery of Heaven to serve the Devil in." You and your party associates were once Democrats, true and loyal to the party, respected and esteemed by all men, because of your good character, your honesty, your fidelity to the principles of the party of "the white man and the white metal." The party originated by the greatest statesman this country has ever produced, Thomas Jefferson, the party whose

glory is co-extensive with the glory of this great country of ours. You are entitled to share the glory of this great country of ours. You are entitled to share the glory of this grand old party, because you were once a member of it in good standing. Then, why not come back home? You will be welcomed gladly. The past shall be forgotten. We stand ready to lock shields with all honest Populists, in an effort to defeat fusion, which you have my word for it, is only another name for the Gold Standard. My views touching fusion are very similar to the views held by Senator Butler on fusion.

In July 1892, Senator Butler said: "Now a word to those who have joined the Peoples' party; What is there to be gained for reform by defeating the Democratic State ticket? Nothing, but much to lose, let the result be what it may. If you elect your ticket you do it at the sufferance of the Republican party, and you are at their mercy now and in the future. If you are the cause of the Republican party capturing the state you have given a heavy blow to the cause of reform and have put the management of our state into unworthy and incapable hands. Let not those who want office more than thy do reform precipitate you into taking any such unwise action."

I am confident I have tired you, but my cause is dear to my heart, and should be near and dear to every man who loves the welfare of North Carolina. I have written nothing in malice, but I have honestly endeavored to give you a truthful diagnosis of the situation as I see it.

In conclusion I want you to read the open letter of Mr. Thorn, of Warren County, which I beg to enclose with this. He was a candidate for Congress on the Populist ticket in the last election. In fact Mr,

Thorn since the formation of the party, has taken an active part in his party's politics. He is a man of substance and respectability in his community. He ought to be good authority with you.

Then after you have read the letter of Mr. E. A. Thorn, read if you please the letter of Mr. R. O. Pickard: I enclose Mr. Pickard's also. Mr. Pickard has been a life-long Republican, and is a man of substance and influence in Alamance county.

I also invite your attention to the letter of Mr. Geo. I. Freeman, formerly Chairman of the People's Party Executive Committee in Richmond county. Mr. Freeman is one of Richmond county's best citizens. You will observe, my dear sir, that I am seeking to prove my case, relying entirely upon Populist and Republican testimony.

Besides the letters of Mr. Thorne, Mr. Pickard and Mr. Freeman, I have more than 30 other letters of persons who were once Populists, and some letters too from Republicans, who have announced their intentions of voting the White Man's ticket in the coming election, and I confidently predict that the Democratic ticket will not only **sweep Durham County** in the approaching election, but the Democrats are going to carry North Carolina, and redeem the land of your birth and mine from negro domination and radical misrule. You understand I am not running for any office. My dear friend, it is not the lust of office that moves me, but the welfare and protection of your home and mine, and the deliverance of our brethren in the East from the horrors of misrule and negro domination, and the placing of North Carolina again, in the column of respectability among her sister States.

I claim your influence, the benefit of your

advice, and your vote, in behalf of the white people of North Carolina, and in the behalf of the welfare and prosperity of North Carolina.

I feel that I have discharged my duty; I leave the case with you, hoping that on the night of November the 8th. you may lay down to sleep with the proud consciousness of having done what was in your power, to strike the shackles of negro domination and Republican misrule from the good honest deserving white people of North Carolina.

Your friend,

In bonds of the Democratic faith,

JULIAN S. CARR,

Chairman of Durham Co. Dem. Ex. Co.

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